

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 EUR-12 NEA-11 ISO-00 IO-13 ACDA-12
HA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00
ICAE-00 INRE-00 OMB-01 TRSE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 /112 W
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O R 311620Z MAY 78

FM AMEMBASSY DAKAR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4303
INFO AMEMBASSY ALGIERS
AMEMBASSY BAMAKO
AMEMBASSY BISSAU POUCH
AMEMBASSY CONAKRY
USINT HAVANA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NOUAKCHOTT
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 DAKAR 4037

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: XA, CU, UR, MPOL, SG
SUBJECT: SENEGALESE PERCEPTION OF SOVIET AND CUBAN ROLE IN AFRICA

REF: (A) STATE 134913, (B) DAKAR 3722, (C) DAKAR 2418,
(D) 77 DAKAR 4983, (E) 77 DAKAR 4982, (F) 77 DAKAR 4639

SUMMARY: SENEGALESE HAVE LONG FEARED SOVIET AND CUBAN
INFLUENCE IN NEIGHBORING STATES AND SEE EVENTS IN ANGOLA,
ZAIRE AND WESTERN SAHARA AS EVIDENCE OF IMPERIALISTIC
SOVIET DESIGN FOR AFRICAN HEGEMONY. IN RESPONSE,
SENEGAL HAS SOUGHT TO ENMEST ITS NEIGHBORS IN WEB OF CLOSE
ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION CENTERED ON DAKAR, HAS
OPPOSED THE POLISARIO MOVEMENT AND THE NETO GOVERNMENT,
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AND HAS ENCOURAGED NON-AGGRESSION AND MUTUAL DEFENSE PACTS
BETWEEN AFRICAN MODERATES. SENEGALESE CLEARLY FEEL THAT
URGENCY OF JOINT ACTION BY AFRICAN MODERATES OUTWEIGHS
ANY RESULTANT DAMAGE TO CONTINENTAL UNITY, THOUGH THEY
DID SUCCEED AT LIBREVILLE SUMMIT IN GETTING OAU TO AGREE
ON RESOLUTION CONDEMNING OUTSIDE INTERVENTION IN AFRICAN
DISPUTES. SENEGAL ENDORSED FRENCH SUPPORT FOR ZAIRE AND

MAURITANIA AND WELCOMED RECENT US AIRLIFT FOR SHABA, BUT PRESIDENT SENGHOR FAULTS WEST FOR FAILING TO RECOGNIZE GRAVITY OF SOVIET CHALLENGE. SENEGALESE WERE DEEPLY DISAPPOINTED BY U.S. DISENGAGEMENT FROM ANGOLA, DISTRESSED OVER RECENT U.S. DECISION ON MOROCCAN ARMS REQUEST FOR SAHARA, AND PRIVATELY ACCUSE SOME U.S. OFFICIALS OF "STROKING THE SOVIETS." AT MAY SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL GATHERING IN DAKAR AND RECENT MEETINGS IN FRANCE, SENGHOR HAS BEEN CRITICIZING WESTERN INACTION AND AT SAME TIME URGING THAT SUPERPOWERS THEMSELVES ENTER INTO UNDERSTANDING CONDEMNING FOREIGN INTERVENTION IN AFRICA. EMBASSY BELIEVES IDEA PARALLELS U.S. INTERESTS IN MANY WAYS, AND BEARS FURTHER EXAMINATION. END SUMMARY.

1. PERCEPTIONS OF SOVIET/CUBAN ROLE: DEEP SENEGALESE APPREHENSION OVER SOVIET AND CUBAN INTERVENTION IN AFRICA HAS LONG BEEN A PRIMARY THEME OF OUR BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS AND A HIGH PRIORITY TARGET OF SENEGALESE DIPLOMACY, PARTICULARLY SINCE BEGINNING OF ANGOLAN CRISIS. SENEGALESE PREOCCUPATION ORIGINATED WITH CONCERN OVER ACTUAL OR POTENTIAL SOVIET AND CUBAN INFLUENCE IN UNPREDICTABLE GUINEA AND INEXPERIENCED GUINEA-BISSAU ALONG SOUTHERN BORDER, RELIANCE OF MALI T RAIDS IN MAURITANIA. IN MORE PARANOIC MOMENTS, SENEGALESE FEAR SOVIET PINCHER MOVEMENT AIMED AT GAINING CONTROL OVER STRATEGIC AIR AND NAVAL FACILITIES AT TIP OF SENEGAL'S

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CAP VERT PENINSULA. AT MINIMUM, THEY HAVE BEEN CONCERNED THAT SENEGAL COULD FIND ITSELF AN UNWILLING CORRIDOR BETWEEN HOSTILE ACTIVITIES INSPIRED BY SOVIETS IN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES. FURTHER AFIELD, SENEGALESE VIEW ALGERIA AND LIBYA AS STALKING HORSES FOR SOVIET INTERESTS. EVENTS IN ANGOLA CONFIRMED SENEGALESE VIEW OF IMPERIALISTIC SOVIET INTENTIONS IN AFRICA, AND SHABA INCURSIONS ARE VIEWED AS FURTHER PROOF. (HORN WAS SPECIAL CASE WHERE SOVIETS WERE INSULATED FROM SENEGALESE CRITICISM SINCE THEY WERE ASSISTING ETHIOPIA TO REPEL CHALLENGE TO SACROSANCT AFRICAN PRINCIPLE OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY.)

2. ATTENDANT PROBLEMS: SENEGALESE SEE SOVIETS AS PURSUING CLASSIC HEGEMONIC POLITICS INSPIRED BY IDEOLOGICAL RHETORIC. AS REPORTED REF B, SENGHOR WARNED RECENT SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL MEETING IN DAKAR THAT AFRICA WAS SCENE OF COMPETITION BETWEEN "THE TWO IMPERIALISMS OF EAST AND WEST UNDER THE ALIBIS OF IDEOLOGIES," AND REMARKED: "THE EAST IS APPLYING THE POLICY OF LENIN, IF NOT OF PETER THE GREAT." SENEGALESE BELIEVE THAT SECURITY CONSIDERATIONS WITH WHICH AFRICAN COUNTRIES ARE BEING FORCED TO COME TO GRIPS SERIOUSLY DISTRACT THEIR CONCENTRATION

ON SOREL Y NEEDED ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, AND ULTIMATELY
ENDANGER AFRICA'S POLITICAL AND "CULTURAL INDEPENDENCE."

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3. PRESCRIPTION FOR HANDLING PROBLEMS: SENECALESE HAVE
RESPONDED WITH INCREASING IMAGINATION AND VIGOR TO
PERCEIVED SOVIET THREAT. CLOSE TO HOME, THEY HAVE SOUGHT
CONSCIOUSLY TO ENMESH NEIGHBORING STATES IN TIGHTENING
WEB OF ECONOMIC, TECHNICAL AND OTHER FUNCTIONAL COOPERA-
TION WITH SENEGAL WHICH IS HELPING TO OVERRIDE AND DEFUSE
POLITICAL DIFFERENCES WITH SUCH NEIGHBORS AS MALI AND
GUINEA-BISSAU. HESITANT BUT POSITIVE SENECALESE RESPONSE
TO RECENT FRIENDLY OVERTURES FROM SEKOU TOURE CORRESPONDS
WITH THIS STRATEGY. ON POLISARIO, AFTER INITIAL ABORTIVE
EFFORT AT MEDIATION, SENEGAL HARSHLY CONDEMNED POLISARIO
AND ITS SUPPORTERS AND AGREED TO COOPERATE IN MAURITANIAN
DEFENSE. ON ANGOLA, SENECALESE HAVE DECLINED TO RECOGNIZE
NETO GOVERNMENT PENDING WITHDRAWAL OF "CUBAN EXPEDITION."

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SENEGAL PLEDGED SOLIDARITY WITH ZAIRE DURING LAST YEAR'S SHABA INVASION, SENDING DEPUTY CHIEF OF STAFF TO KINSHAS FOR DIRECT CONSULTATIONS AND PROVIDING SYMBOLIC PLANELOAD OF MEDICAL SUPPLIES. SENEGAL ALSO TOOK LEAD AT 1977 LIBREVILLE OAU SUMMIT IN SPONSORING RESOLUTION OPPOSING EXTERNAL INTERVENTION IN AFRICA, AND HAS BEEN ENTHUSIASTIC PROPOSER OF NON-AGGRESSION AND MUTUAL DEFENSE PACTS AT CEAO AND ECOWAS LEVELS. SENGHOR'S EFFORT TO FORM POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST PARTIES IS INTEGRAL PART OF THIS EFFORT TO ORGANIZE AFRICAN MODERATES TO COOPERATE TOGETHER TO DEFEND THEIR INTERESTS.

SENEGALESE ACCORDINGLY FEEL AFRICAN MODERATES ARE ACCOMPLISHING A GOOD DEAL ON THEIR OWN TO STABILIZE CONTINENT (NOT TO MENTION THE MIDDLE EAST, THROUGH SENEGALESE BATTALION CONTRIBUTED EARLIER TO UNEF IN SINAI AND NOW TO UNIFIL IN LEBANON). WHERE THEY ARE MOST CONCERNED IS OVER WESTERN RESPONSE TO SOVIET CHALLENGE. SENGALSE WERE DEEPLY DISAPPOINTED BY U.S. DECISION IN EARLY 1976 TO CUT OFF SUPPORT TO ANTI-MPLA FORCES IN ANGOLA, THOUGH THEY HAVE BEEN GRATIFIED BY MORE RECENT FRENCH ACTIONS ELSEWHERE ON CONTINENT. SENGHOR WARMLY ENDORSED FRENCH/MOROCCAN ASSISTANCE FOR ZAIRE AND HAS BOLDLY DEFENDED FRENCH USE OF DAKAR FACILITIES FOR DEFENSE OF MAURITANIA AGAINST POLISARIO (FRENCH OFFICIALLY HAVE USE OF SENGALSE "FACILITIES" BUT THEORETICALLY HAVE NO "BASES" HERE; SENGALSE OPPOSE FOREIGN BASES IN AFRICA IN PRINCIPLE AND SENGHOR BOASTS THAT HE HAS NEVER CALLED OUT FRENCH TO PROTECT HIM AGAINST ATTEMPTED COUPS). SENGALSE PRESS IS CURRENTLY GIVING EXTENSIVE PUBLICITY TO JOINT FRANCO-SENEGALSE MILITARY MANEUVERS TAKING PLACE IN SENGAL MAY 19-26 AGAINST HYPOTHETICAL AGGRESSION FROM UNNAMED NEIGHBORING

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STATE. SENGALSE GAVE WARM WELCOME TO USAF AIRLIFT OF FRENCH MATERIEL TO SHABA DURING CURRENT CRISIS, WHICH INVOLVED SOME 75 OPERATIONS INTO DAKAR AND TEMPORARY STATIONING IN SENGAL OF SIZEABLE U.S. GROUND SUPPORT TEAM.

HOWEVER, SENGHOR FAULTS WEST AND PARTICULARLY U.S. FOR FAILING TO RECOGNIZE DEGREE OF SOVIET THREAT. IN HIS RECENT COMMENTS TO SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL, SENGHOR COMPLAINED OF WESTERN INACTION AGAINST "CLEAR OBJECTIVES AND ... ULTRAMODERN MEANS" OF THE EAST. "THE AMERICAN SUPERPOWER MAKES THREATS" HE SAID, "BUT IN WORDS." IN FRANK PRIVATE REMARKS, SENGHOR HAS CRITICIZED U.S.

OFFICIALS FOR "STROKING THE SOVIETS" (REFS C AND E)
AND HE WAS DISAPPOINTED AT U.S. DECISION NOT TO SELL
EQUIPMENT REQUESTED BY MOROCCO FOR USE IN SAHARA.
SENGHOR IS NOW ELABORATING ON IDEA HE VOICED LAST YEAR
AT AMBASSADOR COHEN'S CREDENTIALS PRESENTATION
(77 DAKAR 4980) IN CALLING ON SUPERPOWERS, POSSIBLY
THROUGH CSCE FRAMEWORK, TO ADOPT UNDERSTANDING OR
"RESOLUTION WHICH WOULD CONDEMN ALL FOREIGN MILITARY
INTERVENTION IN AFRICA, EVEN IF IT WERE FOR COMING TO THE
AID OF AN AFRICAN STATE AGGRESSION BY A BROTHER STATE"
(UNLESS, PRESUMABLY, THAT STATE WERE ACTING AS "PROXY"
FOR OUTSIDE POWER, IN WHICH CASE SENEGALESE UNDOUBTEDLY
WOULD RESERVE RIGHT TO CALL ON OUTSIDE HELP TOO).
THEORY IS THAT IF THERE WERE MECHANISM FOR PRESSURING
SOVIETS TO STAY OUT, AFRICANS WOULD BE ABLE TO FIND
"DYNAMIC COMPROMISES" ON THEIR OWN IN MOST DISPUTES. IT
STRIKES US THAT THIS IDEA HAS MERIT, DOVETAILS
CLOSELY WITH U.S. OBJECTIVES AND BEARS FURTHER DISCUSSION
DURING PRESIDENT SENGHOR'S U.S. TRIP. EXPRESSION OF U.S.
INTEREST IN SUCH AN AGREEMENT WOULD PROBABLY GO DOWN WELL
IN MANY AFRICAN CAPITALS.

4. AFRICAN DIVISION: SENGHOR HISTORICALLY STRUGGLED
AGAINST BALKANIZATION OF WEST AFRICA, HAS SOUGHT TO
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STRENGTHEN TIES BETWEEN ALL BLACK PEOPLES THROUGH THE
CONCEPT OF NEGRITUDE, AND, AS AN OAU FOUNDER, IS STRONGLY
COMMITTED TO AFRICAN UNITY OVERALL. HOWEVER, AS NOTED,
HE BELIEVES THAT SOME AFRICAN STATES ARE ACTING AGAINST
AFRICAN INTERESTS ON BEHALF OF STRATEGIC SOVIET DESIGNS.
SENEGALESE HAVE DEMONSTRATED REPEATEDLY DURING PAST YEAR
THAT THEY BELIEVE TIME HAS COME FOR MODERATES TO STAND UP
AND BE COUNTED, AND BAND TOGETHER TO DEFEND THEIR OWN
INTERESTS AGAINST OTHER AFRICAN STATES WHICH, WITH
EXTERNAL ENCOURAGEMENT, POSE CHALLENGES TO THE
EXISTING ORDER.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptoning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SPHERE OF INFLUENCE, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 31 may 1978
Decapton Date: 01 jan 1960
Decapton Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978DAKAR04037
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X3
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780227-0920
Format: TEL
From: DAKAR
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t1978054/aaaaadfp.tel
Line Count: 266
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: ea388c9a-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 STATE 134913, 78 DAKAR 3722, 78 DAKAR 2418, 77 DAKAR 4983, 77 DAKAR 4982, 77 DAKAR 4639
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 26 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2636776
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SENEGALESE PERCEPTION OF SOVIET AND CUBAN ROLE IN AFRICA
TAGS: MPOL, XA, CU, UR, SG
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/ea388c9a-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014